

## NOTABLE LEADERS OF FORMER CAMPAIGNS

By RUFUS ROCKWELL WILSON.

It is the verdict of veteran politicians that no presidential campaign in our history was waged with more skill and shrewdness than that of 1876, when Tilden and Hayes were opposing candidates. Zachariah Chandler was chairman of the Republican National Committee in that year, and the fight which he made for Hayes proved him one of the greatest political generals of his time. Indeed, to a large extent, he established the political methods of the present day. Chandler was a native of New England, and was endowed with all the personal traits of the shrewd Yankee, enhanced by the experience of a successful career in Michigan at a time when that State was near the frontier. Success in business brought him wealth and influence, and a fighter and intense party spirit, made him the dominating force in Michigan politics during and for a dozen years after the Civil War. His aggressiveness gave him a foremost place in the Federal Senate, and led in 1876 to his being chosen manager of the Hayes campaign.

Chandler was at his best in this capacity, and the sequel proved him equal to the task he had taken in hand. Breaking the solid South had, therefore, been regarded as an impossibility, and, as a matter of fact, no attention was paid to it, as it was supposed to be assured to the Democracy. Instead, the whole country was watching the admittedly doubtful States of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana. One after another of these doubtful States on election night swung into line for Tilden. These, with the solid South, elected him, and at midnight people went to bed and considered the fight at an end. But an hour later Chandler gave the press associa-

tions this terse and now historic dispatch:

"Rutherford B. Hayes has received 186 electoral votes and is elected."

"ZACHARIAH CHANDLER."

### Double Sets of Returns.

No details were given. Chandler contented himself with the broad claim of votes enough to elect, and left to conjecture where they were to come from. It soon came out, however, that while every one had been watching the doubtful States, Chandler had kept his eye on South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. Then followed the memorable struggle over these States. From them in due time double sets of electoral votes were sent to Congress, each certified by rival returning boards. Thereupon arose a condition without precedent in our political history. The Senate was Republican, the House Democratic, and there is little doubt that had the president of the Senate in February, 1877, opened certificates, counted the electoral votes, including the votes of North Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana among others that were not disputed, the House would have at once proceeded to elect Tilden, and declared Hayes elected President, by an overwhelming majority.

A way out of this perilous dilemma was found in a bill, passed by Congress and approved by the President late in January, 1877, which provided for the reference of all questions arising in respect to States from which more than one certificate had been received to a commission consisting of five senators, five representatives and five justices of the Supreme Court, the decision of a majority to be

final, unless rejected by concurrent votes of both houses, in which case their order should prevail. Four of the justices were designated in the bill, and they were to select the fifth in such manner as they might decide. It was the hope of the framers of the bill that a commission thus made up would decide with judicial impartiality the vexed and puzzling questions involved; but a strange caprice of fortune intervened to disappoint them. The four justices designated as members of the commission were Clifford, Field, Miller, and Strong—two Democrats and two Republicans. This equally divided the commission in politics, with the fifteenth member in abeyance and to be chosen by the four justices from their associates. It was generally understood that seniority of service would control their choice, and that it would fall on Justice David Davis, of Illinois, who was believed to favor Tilden.

### Strange Caprice of Fortune.

Here intervened the strange caprice of fortune. A senatorial contest was in progress in Illinois, with John A. Logan, the incumbent, an active candidate for re-election. The Legislature was so nearly a tie between the Republicans and Democrats that five "independents" held the balance of power. They supported Justice Davis, and, after a prolonged struggle, the Democrats elected him as their successor. Then Davis resigned from the Supreme Court to take his seat in the Senate, and Bradley, the next ranking Justice, was made the fifteenth member of the commission. Bradley was a Republican, and his selection gave that party a majority of the commission, whose every vote proved to be a vote upon strictly partisan lines. A vote of eight Republicans to seven Democrats decided all disputes in favor of the Republicans, and though the process of decision was slow—not until two days before the date set by the Constitution for the inauguration of the new President was the counting finished—it was duly determined that Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina had cast their electoral votes for Hayes, who was declared elected. Chandler's shrewdness and foresight lost Tilden the presidency to which he had been elected by a popular majority of over 200,000.

### Managed Garfield's Fight.

Dwight M. Sabin, of Minnesota, was chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1880, and the real manager of Garfield's successful campaign in that year was ex-Senator Stephen W. Dorsey, of Arkansas. Then Dorsey, few Americans of recent times have had a more checkered career. He was born in Vermont and served in the Civil War. Then he became cashier of a bank in Oberlin, but the life was too dull and slow for him, so he borrowed money, went South and for six cents a pound in gold bought cotton, which he took to Mobile, reaping the railroad and running the engine which carried it himself, and sold for eighty cents a pound. It took him a week to travel eighty miles by a shaky and dilapidated railroad, but he made \$80,000 by the enterprise. He invested it all, and as much more as he could borrow, in a stock of goods which, sold in Alabama, yielded him within a year a profit of \$200,000. Dorsey's success now attracted the attention of capitalists, who engaged him to establish a tool company in Sandusky. The city of Sandusky gave him valuable property and wharfage rights to encourage the enterprise, and the tool company quickly became one of the largest industrial concerns of the West.

It was not long, however, before Dorsey was induced to accept the presidency of the Arkansas Central Railway, which was such a financial wreck that its stock had no market value. Five years later the road was in a flourishing condition and Dorsey was a millionaire. In 1873, when Garfield was thirty years old, he was elected a Federal senator from Arkansas. A year later he was a bankrupt, and gave everything over to his creditors. In 1880, he was again a millionaire, made so by speculations in New Mexico lands, prosecuted on borrowed money. The same year he managed Garfield's campaign with vim and energy, and without scruple as to the weapons he employed. Then the Star Route scandal burst upon the country, and Dorsey was elected a Federal senator from Arkansas. It left him a bruised and broken man. His name still appears now and then in the newspapers, but his financial sun has set, and he will never regain either youth or fortune, while with politics he has had to do for years. His past career has had a meteoric brilliancy that will make it long remembered.

Pitted against Dorsey in 1880 was William H. Barnum, then the chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Barnum was a born fighter. He not only set forth the good qualities of his own candidate, but he made personal warfare on the opposition, his campaign book in 1880 being one of the most vitriolic publications of its kind ever issued. In 1881, he continued his policy of bitter personal attacks on the enemy, and the campaign of that year was memorable for exhibitions of "Mulligan bastards" and other unparliamentary language. The Burchard incident came as a climax to the contest, and though not designed by the campaign manager, it served, nevertheless, as one of the most effective features of the canvass. Blaine went to his grave believing that it caused his defeat.

**Gorman Elects Cleveland.**

Barnum's chief lieutenant in 1881 was Senator Arthur P. Gorman, of Maryland, and it is not too much to say that the latter had more to do with the election of Cleveland than any other man. Toward the close of the campaign, the Democrats began to look blue for the Democrats, and it was clearly shown that unless they could capture New York the fight would be lost. Chairman Barnum, then advanced in years, was hardly equal to the situation. Gorman came to New York, and one day slipped quietly into New York. He had not been there many days before his sagacity was recognized, and while Mr. Barnum appeared to be directing the course of the battle, it was really the Senator who was in command of the helm. The admirable manner in which he guided the ship was demonstrated by the election of Cleveland.

The relations between Gorman and Cleveland, however, soon ceased to be intimate or cordial, and the story became an interesting tale of why, in 1885, the latter failed of re-election. Some time between the fifteenth and twentieth of October in that year Gorman was informed that Cleveland wished to see him. He went at once to the White House and was ushered into the presence of the President.

"I have been told, Mr. President," said he, "that you desired to see me."

"Yes, sir," replied the President, "I wished to confer with you about the prospects of our party. Our campaign seems to have been mismanaged somehow of late. The prospects for success are far less promising than they were at one time, and I am anxious to know something to be done, and done very promptly, we must be prepared for certain defeat."

"I understand then, Senator," asked the President, "that you will comply with my wish and at once assume personal control of the campaign?"

**Grover Refused—and Lost.**

"Yes, Mr. President," replied Grover, "I will do three things. For I feel certain that if those three things shall

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Monumental Coffee (very fine), pound.....	15c	Mustard Sardines (6c size), per can.....	4c
Best Shoe Peg Can Corn, can.....	9c	Mustard Sardines (10c size), per can.....	5c
Good Can Corn, Royal Exchange, can.....	8c	Lump Starch, 7 lbs. for.....	25c
Best Tomatoes, large cans, can.....	8c	Celuloid Starch, package.....	4c
Good Tomatoes, large cans, can.....	7c	Ivory Starch, package.....	4c
Table Peaches, large cans, can.....	12c	Best Misch, 70c bushel, or peck.....	18c
Best Elgin Butter, pound.....	25c	Pride of Richmond Flour, \$6 barrel, sack.....	35c
Best Cream Cheese, 2 lbs. for.....	25c	Daisy Flour, \$5.50 barrel, or sack.....	35c
Buckwheat, large package.....	12c	Pillsbury Flour, \$5 barrel, or sack.....	35c
Buckwheat, small package.....	8c	King Bee Flour (very fine), sack.....	35c
Quaker Oats, package.....	9c	Very Large Bottles Queen Oliver, each.....	25c
Mother's Oats, package.....	9c	New Cut Herring, 3 dozen for.....	25c
Avena Oats, package.....	8c	New Roe Herring, dozen.....	18c
American Oats, package.....	8c	New Fat Mackerel, each.....	9c
Malta-Vita, package.....	10c	Large New Fat Mackerel, 40 each, or 3 for.....	25c
Best Lemon, per dozen.....	12c	Preserves in 5-lb. pails, each.....	25c
Best Butcher's Lamb, pound.....	11c	N. C. Roe Herring, in half-barrels.....	\$2.50
Good Lamb, pound.....	8c	N. C. Cut Herring, in half-barrels.....	\$2.00
Best Salt Pork, pound.....	11c	Tall Cane, 70c bushel, or cans for.....	25c
Choice Salt Pork, pound.....	9c	Table Peaches, 2 cans for.....	25c
Good Salt Pork, pound.....	7c	Mixed Pickling Spices, lb.....	20c
Country Bacon, pound.....	12c	Potted Ham, 3 cans for.....	10c
Small Country Bacon, pound.....	11c	Potted Tongue, 3 cans for.....	10c
Good Lard, pound.....	12c	Corn Beef, 1-lb. cans, 3 cans for.....	25c
Good Lard, pound.....	12c	Hargrave Eta Biscuits, per package.....	4c
Good Lard Baking Powders, small cans.....	4c	Maryland Biscuits, per package.....	4c
Old Peach, Plum, Grape and Reynolds's Sun-Cured Tobacco, 2 plugs for.....	25c	Age.....	4c
U. S. Mail Soap, 8 bars for.....	25c	Soda Crackers, pound.....	5c
Laundry Export Soap, 7 bars for.....	25c	Salt, 100-pound sacks, sack.....	40c
Laundry Acorn Soap, 10 bars for.....	25c	Genuine No. O. Molasses, gal.....	60c
Laundry Hustler Soap, 7 bars for.....	25c	Good Porto Rico Molasses, gal.....	35c
Laundry Circus Soap, 7 bars for.....	25c	Good Dark Molasses, gallon.....	35c
Laundry Stag Olive Soap, 7 bars for.....	25c	Bright Heavy Syrup, gallon.....	35c
Laundry Moon Soap, 10 bars for.....	25c	Caromel Syrup, 4-gal. cans.....	1.00
Laundry Polo Soap, 11 bars for.....	25c	Caromel Syrup, 1-gal. cans.....	35c
Laundry Forest City Soap, 11 bars for.....	25c	Best Seal Lye, can.....	4c
Laundry Octagon Soap, 8 bars for.....	25c	Lima Beans, gallon.....	1.00
Laundry Conqueror Soap, 8 bars for.....	25c	Winner Milk, can.....	9c
Laundry Silver Leaf Soap, per cake.....	25c	Dime Milk, can.....	8c
Laundry Bragg Soap, 7 bars for.....	25c	Shredded Coconut, pound.....	12c
Laundry Tom Boy Soap, per cake.....	25c	Duffy's Malt, bottle.....	80c
Large Cakes (16 size), Ivory Soap.....	25c	Guinness Whiskey, bottle.....	1.00
Toilet Forest Rose Soap, 3 cakes for.....	10c	Paul Jones Whiskey, bottle.....	90c
Toilet Colgate's Palm Soap, 3 cakes for.....	12c	Wilson Whiskey, bottle.....	90c
Toilet Kirk's Assortment Soap, 3 cakes for.....	25c	Elbert Gin, bottle.....	1.00
French Violette, 3 cakes for.....	12c	N. C. Corn Whiskey, gallon.....	\$2.00
Fairy Soap, per cake.....	4c	Woodstock Rye Whiskey, gallon.....	\$2.00
Colgate's White Floating Soap, per cake.....	4c	Keystone Rye Whiskey, gal.....	\$2.50
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he done we can yet win a victory, though everything looks now like inevitable defeat.

"Of course, Senator," was the reply, "you can count in advance on my cordial and hearty co-operation. I will gladly do anything I can do consistently. What are the three things you wish me to do?"

"First," said Gorman, "Mr. Pearson must be removed from the postoffice in New York, and a Democrat must be appointed in its place. Second, Mr. Graves must be removed from the position of chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and the place given to a true and trustworthy Democrat. Third, you must accept the resignation of Mr. Judd as postmaster at Chicago, which resignation was tendered some time ago, and some unobjectionable Democrat must be appointed to that office."

"I can and will accept Mr. Judd's resignation immediately," was the President's reply. "The other two things, Senator, I cannot and will not do."

"Then, Mr. President," said Gorman, "we will be beaten in November, and you will beat us. I have the honor to bid you good day."

This closed the interview. What followed is history.

Senator Matthew S. Quay, of Pennsylvania, was chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1888, and by his management of Harrison's campaign scored one of his crowning achievements with intending to colonize voters on a wholesale scale in New York city, and to forestall this Quay caused a so-called new city directory concern to be established on Broadway. An army of canvassers was put to work, and soon secured the names of nearly every voter in Manhattan. The new directory, however, never appeared. A week or so before the election Quay sent for one of the Cleveland managers and showed his hand. He was little known in New York city in that election. Tammany was defeated in its stronghold; Harrison carried the State by 14,000, and Quay was heralded the country over as the greatest of political geniuses.

### The Genius of Whitney.

William F. Harry, of Pennsylvania, was chairman of the Democratic National Committee in 1892, but the director of the campaign was a man named William C. Whitney. The campaign of 1892 brought to the fore another great political general in the person of the late Senator Hanna. When it became clear toward the close of the campaign that no Democrat could be elected as Cleveland's successor, Hanna, who up to that time had not been a factor in national politics, set out to secure the nomination. "Hanna," writes Frank G. Carpenter, "picked out a force of organizers which needed only his general direction. The whole United States was divided up just as he divided up one Ohio. He knew as much about any one of the counties of California or of Maine as he did about the different parts of Northern Ohio. He not only knew individuals, but he knew public sentiment, and he spent vast sums to change it. His correspondence was so enormous that the amount of money at his command was said to have been more than \$1,000,000. He skimped nothing. A letter was never sent where a telegram would bring the news more quickly, and much of the business was done by special wires and long-distance telephones."

### Hanna and McKinley.

The result of this remarkable campaign was the nomination of McKinley on the first ballot, despite the opposition of great names in fact, I am confident that unless something be done, and done very promptly, we must be prepared for certain defeat."

Republican National Committee, proceeded to elect him, conducting the campaign for election as skillfully as he had the canvass for nomination. To the commanding general the result was never in doubt, for his conclusions were based upon information as nearly exact as trusted agents under an energetic and resourceful leader could obtain. In one close State three complete polls were made inside of six weeks, and with such thoroughness that the majority for McKinley in that State was within less than 200 of what the actual poll showed, and that on a vote of nearly half a million. The Thursday before election Hanna predicted that McKinley and Hobart would have 72 votes in the electoral college, and that under no circumstances would it fall below 70. The returns gave the Republican candidate 51 electoral votes. In 1890 Hanna again secured McKinley's election, but it was the campaign of 1896 that required all his skill and proved him one of the great political captains of his time.

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